

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 /065 W

----- 092211

R 201230Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4816

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 6168

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, YO, BU

SUBJECT: ATTACK ON CENSUS OVERSHADOWS MLADENOV VISIT

REF : A. BELGRADE 5923, B. BELGRADE 5577, C. SOFIA 2176,
D. BELGRADE 5314

1. SUMMARY : LIMITED EXPECTATIONS REGARDING RESULTS OF
MLADENOV VISIT HAVE PROVEN TO BE FULLY JUSTIFIED. BULGARIANS
PROPOSED CREATION OF FIVE COMMISSIONS TO SETTLE OUTSTANDING
BILATERAL ISSUES, AND SUCH MECHANISMS WILL BE DISCUSSED AT
FUTURE MEETING BETWEEN TITO AND ZHIVKOV. MILDLY POSITIVE TONE
OF VISIT SHATTERED, HOWEVER, BY HARSH ATTACK IN YUGOSLAV PRESS ON
UPCOMING BULGARIAN CENSUS. SPIRIT OF CSCE SEEMS UNLIKELY TO
SIGNIFICANTLY RELAX YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN TENSIONS IN
NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY

2. FOLLOWING UP TITO-ZHIVKOV MEETING AT CSCE CONFERENCE
IN HELSINKI, BULGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER PETAR MLADENOV
VISITED BELGRADE FROM NOVEMBER 11 TO 13 AS GUEST OF FOREIGN
SECRETARY MINIC. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
MINCHEV AND OTHER OFFICIALS. MLADENOV MET WITH YUGOSLAV VICE
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PRESIDENT VLADIMIR BAKARIC, MEMBER OF PRESIDENCY

EDVARD KARDELJ AND PRIME MINISTER DZEMAL BIJEDIC.

3. JOINT COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCES AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON MEETING BETWEEN TITO AND ZHIVKOV TO ESTABLISH "METHODS AND WAYS" FOR IMPROVING RELATIONS. BULGARIAN DESK OFFICER IN FEDERAL SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (FSFA) STRESSED IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF THAT TIMING OF MEETING WILL DEPEND ON SATISFACTORY DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS. HE IMPLIED CHANGES IN BULGARIAN BEHAVIOR ESSENTIAL.

4. POLITICAL OFFICER AT BULGARIAN EMBASSY IN BELGRADE TOLD EMBOFF THAT "METHODS AND WAYS" REFERS TO AS YET UNPUBLISHED PROPOSAL MADE IN LETTER FROM ZHIVKOV TO TITO WHICH MLADENOV DELIVERED. ZHIVKOV PROPOSED CREATION OF FIVE JOINT COMMISSIONS TO SETTLE OUTSTANDING ISSUES. ONE WOULD BE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVE OF FOREIGN MINISTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SECTIONS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WOULD DEAL WITH BASIC POLITICAL QUESTIONS. ANOTHER WOULD BE COMPOSED OF MILITARY HISTORIANS AND WOULD SETTLE QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO WORLD WAR II. (YUGOSLAVS FREQUENTLY CHARGE BULGARIANS WITH EXAGGERATING THEIR ROLE IN LIBERATING YUGOSLAVIA.) THIRD COMMISSION WOULD BE COMPOSED OF COMMUNIST PARTY IDEOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS AND WOULD ESTABLISH JOINT POSITION ON ROLES OF BULGARIAN AND YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTIES. FOURTH COMMISSION, COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION, WOULD EXAMINE SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS WITH AN EYE TO CORRECTING INACCURACIES AND DISTORTIONS. FIFTH COMMISSION WOULD BE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SERBIAN, MACEDONIAN AND BULGARIAN ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE AND WOULD SETTLE BASIC QUESTIONS OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION, SUCH AS THE NATIONALITY OF HEROES LIKE GOCE DELCHEV. SOURCE SAID YUGOSLAVS HAD NO IMMEDIATE REPLY TO PROPOSAL.

5. COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS STANDARD WISHES FOR INCREASED SCIENTIFIC, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION. ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR ARE JUDGED TO BE DEVELOPING
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SATISFACTORILY. COMMUNIQUE REFERS TO READINESS TO EXPAND "BORDER COOPERATIONS", WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHAT MEASURES ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION.

6. THROWING LUKEWARM WATER ON CARAMANLIS INITIATIVE FOR GREATER BALKAN COOPERATION, COMMUNIQUE SAYS "UNDERLINING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BILATERAL COOPERATION AS A VITAL PRECONDITION FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY

IN THIS AREA AND IN EUROPE, (THE FOREIGN MINISTERS) SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE MULTILATERAL COOPERATION ONLY IN SPHERES WHICH ARE REALISTICALLY ACCEPTABLE AND OF INTEREST TO BALKAN STATES." THIS FORMULATION REFLECTS SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR INCREASED BALKAN COOPERATION WHICH BOTH YUGOSLAV AND BULGARIAN SOURCES HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED HERE.

7. BOTH COMMUNIQUE AND TOASTS AT STATE DINNER STRESS IMPORTANCE OF OBJECTIVE PUBLIC INFORMATION IN ORDER TO CREATE CONFIDENCE AND ELIMINATE DISTRUST. THE DAY AFTER MLADENOV'S DEPARTURE, HOWEVER, MAIN MACEDONIAN NEWSPAPER "NOVA MAKEDONIJA" PUBLISHED SCATHING EDITORIAL ON BULGARIAN CENSUS TO BE HELD IN EARLY DECEMBER. ARTICLE WAS SUMMARIZED IN MAIN BELGRADE NEWSPAPERS AND REPORTED ON TANJUG WIRE, INSURING WIDEST POSSIBLE DISSEMINATION. EDITORIAL CHARGES THAT BULGARIA IS INTIMIDATING ITS MACEDONIAN CITIZENS SO THAT THEY WILL STATE THEIR NATIONALITY AS BULGARIAN WHEN POLLED. IT NOTES THAT BULGARIANS HAVE JUGGLED NUMBER OF MACEDONIAN RESIDENTS IN THE PAST, REPORTING 178,862 IN WHOLE COUNTRY. EDITORIAL SAYS METHODS BEING USED NOW TO MANIPULATE CENSUS ARE POLICE INTERROGATION AND IMPRISONMENT OF MACEDONIAN NATIONALISTS, FORCIBLE TRANSFERS OF POPULATION AND EXORTATIONS TO DEMONSTRATE BULGARIAN PATRIOTISM. ACCORDING TO BULGARIAN DIPLOMAT, ARTICLE CAME AS REAL SURPRISE AND CONTRADICTS SPIRIT OF COMMUNIQUE.

9. SEVERAL EDITORIALS COMMENT ON MLADENOV VISIT, GENERALLY RESTATING THEMES FROM COMMUNIQUE AND TOASTS AT STATE DINNER. LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS WEEKLY "KOMUNIST" RECOGNIZES THAT DIFFERENCES CANNOT BE SETTLED OVERNIGHT AND POSITIVELY ASSESSED CONTRIBUTION OF MINIC-
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MLADENOV TALKS TO MOVEMENT TOWARD SOLUTION. ZAGREB DAILY "VJESNIK" IS MOST EXPLICIT IN TALKING ABOUT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. IT SAYS, "THAT WHICH SEPARATES YUGOSLAVIA AND BULGARIA....IS THE FATE OF THE MACEDONIAN NATIONALITY...." EDITORIAL SUGGESTS THAT PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED, AS WAS TRIESTE DISPUTE WITH ITALIANS, BUT THE SOLUTION DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON BULGARIA.

10. COMMENT: THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI, WHILE IT MAY HAVE HELPED BRING THE BULGARIANS AND YUGOSLAVS TOGETHER ONECE AGAIN FOR TALKS, IS NOT GOING TO OVERCOME THEIR DIFFERENCES QUICKLY. HISTORICAL ENMITIES AND YUGOSLAV BELIEF THAT BULGARIANS ACT AS AGENTS FOR USSR COMPLICATE CENTRAL DISPUTE OVER MACEDONIAN NATIONALITY, CONCEPT WHICH YUGOSLAVS PROMOTE AND BULGARIANS DO NOT RECOGNIZE. THE

YUGOSLAVS ARE FLUSHED WITH SUCCESS AS RESOLVING BORDER
DISPUTE WITH ITALY, BUT IN BULGARIAN CASE ISSUES
INVOLVED ARE NOT SUBJECT TO EASY SOLUTION BY
RECOGNITION OF LINE ON MAP NOR IS OTHER PARTY
AS FLEXIBLE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS COMMENTS, CENSUS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BELGRA06168
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750404-1005
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751126/aaaaawpg.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BELGRADE 5923, 75 BELGRADE 5577, 75 SOFIA 2176
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <02 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ATTACK ON CENSUS OVERSHADOWS MLADENOV VISIT
TAGS: PFOR, YO, BU, CSCE, (MLADENOV, PETAR)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006